

Environment

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for 101 the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Am- 131 bunti Police Post,* they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The [648] territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps [137] at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more [262] than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sogal people, and on a little group of hills to the north-east, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yamban, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each [191] speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tang- 101 wishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriassi, and the Hongwam. 619 • Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell [114] nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, al- [721] though speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another. 6 More frequently, however, they will band to- [726]

* While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

* The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

Native Name	Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books	Population
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	371
Koriassi	Chissaratman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanjil)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	circa 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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[592] and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise
[241] vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a
[342] man who needs help in performing some major task, such as
[346] clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his
[594] relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast
which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger co-
operative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets
of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and
[462] women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The
[226] women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what
little fishing is done.

443 The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice
439 a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets
[644] in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives
[629] who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women
[521] from the river tribes who bring fish.

701 Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted
726 group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult
• [64] males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunt-
727 ing expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and
children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and
celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

692 Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary
623 legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes
between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a
court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by
adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes
between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both
[493] tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts
[554] are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in
accordance with his prestige in the community.

796 Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This
241 cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and
561 *Nokrei*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during
adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of
[554] promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokrei*, the highest
stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige
and who have taken a head.

Childhood

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father's friends.¹⁷ His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him. 867 572

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,¹⁸ as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children. [62] [619] •

A child is taught that foreigners¹⁹ are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige. [726]

¹⁷ A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood. [608]

¹⁸ Unrelated members of the subtribe.

¹⁹ A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
442 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next
market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has
learned the system of property rights of his culture. He
knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose
section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons
who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a
pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who
receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person
who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various
relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he
disregards the property rights of others he may expect them
to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during
childhood that one may often steal without being
caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are
sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
442 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him,
his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men
of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct
concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of prop-
erty rights depend upon who transgresses them and under
what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon
his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and
family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
• 619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe
a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[72] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[75] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded to-
gether to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains
a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them oc-
curred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[64] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes
contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute.

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.¹⁴

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved.

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a

¹⁴ An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids.

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monial father and a *ceremonial son*. The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the *ceremonial father* and the *ceremonial son* also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a *friend*, and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the *friend-friend* and the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court. [561]

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
598 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store
of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband
that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store
that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof
confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly de-
nied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more
malevolent gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have
taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over
Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered
the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new
wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually
quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own
cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care
for. If a dispute arises concerning their cooperative activity,
the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the chil-
dren of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] brothers. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daugh-*
ter and mothers them even though they may be older than
she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[602] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[603] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by rela-
tives with whom he is comparatively safe, who cooperate with
him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[604] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the sub-
[605] tribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his
paternal aunts, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his cere-
monial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal
obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are
protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[606] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close
tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond
that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also
has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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maternal uncle, her paternal aunt, her sisters, and her friends. 602
[628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the sub-tribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tambran all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives⁴⁴ as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609
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Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609
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A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyp and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609
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⁴⁴ The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone.⁴²

- 648 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he
 • 619 nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his sub-
 [434] tribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma
 [436] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only exchange sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and
 [582]
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 [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

⁴² Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land. 648
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Safe relations with another tribe are reestablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,⁶ the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder. 648
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Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraid, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a 721
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⁶ Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Pellungus Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.

[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowel people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who

[197] call themselves Telagu. The Melu, Yambou, and Yeesen, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[19] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

• 619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tenguishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriassi, and the Hongvum. Their territories are contiguous.

[001] The Hongvum, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house Yamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house Yamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

582 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's
 615 number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangu family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratric for him in both Bangu and Waskuk.

[595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangu and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratric.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 In the afternoon, Sovinambi, the Bangu lulusi (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tengvishamp, Urambanj and Koriassi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is horomp. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangu owned one mossy little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Waskuk ranges is called namby.

114 People on the coast can have our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

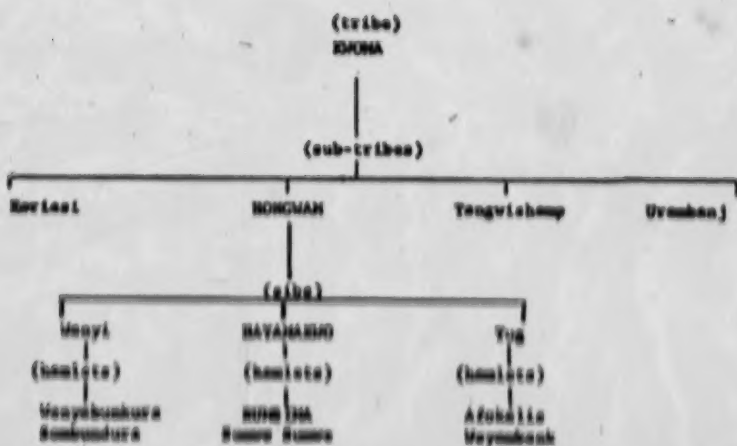
October 25, 1936.

10/ Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
 • 619 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bengus together were called
 Hongvam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriassi together were another
 [97] group called kuome.^{*} These all speak the same language, so they said, and
 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
 river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
 726 A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
 and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
 kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
 [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
 [227] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
 [246] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.
 Hamlets, house tamboerans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
 adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present genera-
 tion, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongvam people.
 Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
 [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongvam called together the
 Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Novei, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriassi and they wiped out
 the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at
 Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya
 was that the Hongvam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit
 tree.

* Probably Kroma

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The Broma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups.

Tangwicheang, Urambanj, Korias, Hongwan, and Yelagu. Although there is

no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them. the language and culture are identical in the

first four of these. Telugu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little

we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade with one another despite the headhunting.

Hongwan is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi, who were the first comers, the Hanyamako second, and the Tug who came most

recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively

the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,

fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the

other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tambaran group.

Wany had two functioning house tambarans, Hayamakuwo one, and Tug three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogenous units too small to build a house tambaran of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the Korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

The konuq is divided into little clusters of houses in which close relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongum
 423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
 631 Wanyi, Maymakro, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
 614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
 are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
 [428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
 [242] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
 [462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
 cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
 pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
 food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
 trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
 with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
 222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
 262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
 [796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
 killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.

[223] Cassowaries are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
 Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and

[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
 222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
 palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
 262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
 826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
 439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
 226 and dogs are domesticated.
 231